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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 68, No. 10 **Whole Number 588**

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December, 1961

COVER

Miss "Freedom Christmas"—The NAACP's 34th annual Holiday Seals drive is currently in progress under the national chairmanship of Lena Horne. Model Gee Gee Henry displays master copy of the NAACP's 1961 Holiday Seal now on sale at the national and local NAACP offices.—Ed. Bagwell photo

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The Crisis was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Crisis is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscription $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while The Crisis uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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CLARENCE A. DOCKENS (L), *representing the Philadelphia, Pa., branch, receives an NAACP life membership check from George A. Singleton, editor of the "African M. E. Church Review" to honor the bicentennial of the birth of Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination. The AME review is the oldest magazine published by American Negroes.*

The author corrects the distortions and aspersions on Charles Sumner found in a recent history

Donald's Sumner Reconsidered[1]

By Howard N. Meyer

A former President of the United States recently denounced those Americans who travel to the southern part of their country on antisegregation projects, such as the Freedom Riders." He called them "meddlesome intruders" and in the same breath he attacked William Lloyd Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe as "having done their part in bringing about the Civil War." One can be grateful to this man at least for having helped make one important point a little clearer: that a confederate-oriented distortion of the history of abolitionism or the Reconstruction period will go hand in hand with repression or discouragement of the present effort to complete the Unfinished Business of the Civil War —true Emancipation.

The ex-President who denounced the abolitionists and the Freedom Riders did not even bother to stop to criticize the bus-burners and the club-wielders. In that respect he was more self-revealing than the "neutralists" whose verbal formula for discouraging the progress of desegregation is to attack the "extremists of both sides." Some people do not even stop to analyze what this slick phrase means. The sophisticated, but never sophistic, *New Yorker* magazine recently showed how the press and politicians who use it "do not make much sense. . . . It strikes us as equally absurd to try to make an antithesis of the howling crowds of armed hoodlums and those Negroes who, defended by nothing but their gallantry, are quietly pressing for an active acknowledgment of the rights that are already guaranteed them on parchment."

The neutralism of the present day toward segregation, on the one hand, and its active opponents, on the other, is paralleled by and related to the neutralism manifested by historians to slavery and its active opponents of a century ago. The com-

[1] "Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War" (Knopf, 1960).

HOWARD N. MEYER, a practicing attorney in New York City, is a close student of American history and especially of the Civil-War period.

mon denominator of "keep the Negro in his place" runs through the thinking of those who denounce or besmirch the abolitionists as "extremists" and those who have twisted the history of Reconstruction into a kind of apology and explanation for a century of jim-crow. A good example of the latter will be found in a recent issue of *U.S. News & World Report* (April 17): "In the North, there are questions about the Southern whites' resistance to integration. Why the resistance? The answer lies in the past. Many white Southerness remember stories told in their families of the way Negro soldiers prodded white men, their former masters, off pavements while the South was under military rule of the North in the Reconstruction period."

Charles Sumner, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts during the period from 1851 until his death in 1874, was a major figure in Washington during both the crucial period of abolitionism and the critical years of Reconstruction. One has to look twice at a recent book about him by Professor David Donald, called *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, which prompted Bruce Catton to write in *American Heritage Magazine:* "Perhaps more than any other man Sumner helped push northern anti-slavery opinion past the point where a reasoned adjustment with the South was possible; and, by reverse action, helped push slavery's spokesman to the same point. Between 1850 and 1860 an atmosphere was created in which it became humanly impossible for the issue to be compromised." Speaking "humanly" how do you compromise with slavery?

One approaches with diffidence the writing of a dissenting opinion about a book that has received virtually unanimous critical acclaim; that has just been awarded the Pulitzer prize for American biography; and that is the product of a scholar who, although relatively young, has had a brilliant career and shown an enormous capacity for work.

LET'S AIR THE QUESTIONS

The book, however, is the first volume of a projected two-volume life of Sumner. The volume to come promises to deal with his role in the Reconstruction period. It is also known that the author will be making a separate study on Reconstruction for a new multi-volume history of the United States. If the professor's treatment in the first part of this two-part biography of Charles Sumner's role in the pre-Civil War decade is questionable, it is important that these questions be aired now.

Charles Sumner first appeared on the American scene in the 1830s, at a time when any sane man would have said that the abolition of slavery was impossible. Almost all of the great interests in the country were combined to defend it. The political power of the thirteen slave states was exclusively in the hands of the slaveholders. The two great political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, were both pledged to support it. By a constitutional clause that could not be changed because of the veto power of the slave states the latter had 25 more representatives, in proportion to the number of voters, than the free states. The presidency, both

houses of congress, the Supreme Court, the press,—all those tangible and intangible elements which, combined, we call our social order—were in the hands or under the control of the slaveholders. High and low society agreed—the Fifth Avenue crowd and the Five Points mob.

When Sumner entered the United States Senate in 1851, he found few others there who were uncompromisingly devoted to human freedom and equality: Hale, Chase and Ben Wade. This handful faced an imperious majority, accustomed to rule. Even these few had only imperfect support in their home districts, for the people and the press of the North were divided and demoralized by slavery. The slave states, however, were an oligarchy where there could be no division. There no book against slavery could be sold; no newspaper attacking it could be circulated in the mails; no public meetings could be held to discuss the right and wrong of it. No minister would preach against slavery; no individual, even in private social conversation, could speak against it unless he wished to risk his life.

GREAT MORAL FORCE

Yet between 1850 and 1860 there was created a moral force capable of overthrowing and destroying slavery. Charles Sumner had no small part in the development of that strength of national character. His speeches on behalf of freedom and against slavery were reprinted and widely sold in Free America in the 'fifties; were even read aloud by workers in the factories to their fellows. In his orations he created phrases which generated their own electricity in that pre-electronic era. "Lords of the lash and lords of the loom. . . . Freedom national, slavery sectional. . . . The crime against Kansas. . . . The barbarism of slavery," each of these, as Thomas Wentworth Higginson said, hit some nail precisely on the head.

"The ancient art of oratory, the pride of ancestral Boston, had become an abuse," by the 1830s, wrote Van Wyck Brooks, dean of American letters, in his renowned *The Flowering of New England*. But when Sumner and Wendell Phillips came on the scene, says Brooks, "Oratory once more possessed a function. It touched the springs of action, for the voices of Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips were voices to which Boston was obliged to listen. . . . What was new was their personal style, their passion, their conviction, their sense of fact. They were members of a family of minds that had appeared in all the Western countries, in Italy, in Germany, in France, to defend the religion of liberty, poets militant, intellectual men who were glad to fight and die for their beliefs, figures that were appearing in flesh and blood on battlefields and barricades in Europe. Brothers of Mazzini, heirs of William Tell, men of the world themselves and men of culture, they roused the indifferent minds of the thinking masses and made the American anti-slavery movement a part of the great world-struggle of darkness and light."

Before his election to the United States Senate, Charles Sumner had been a pioneer in challenging the legality of segregation of the free

Negroes of Massachusetts in the schools of Boston. He had the vision in the historic Roberts case to rest his argument not primarily on the physical and mechanical inferiority of the separate schools, but on the adverse effect on both white and Negro children, psychologically and socially, of being obliged to attend separate schools. He did not win the first court fight that he launched, but his effort bore fruit, for as a result the Massachusetts legislature within a few years did away with separate schools. In a recent appraisal of the legal arguments presented by Summer a century plus a decade ago —long before psychology or sociology had become the sciences they now are—two careful students have said that his presentation deserves "to be included in a volume of great documents on American democracy, for its nobility of sentiment, literary excellence, and grasp of principles which have been validated by modern sociology."

Even before this, when as a young Boston lawyer and reformer, he had became imbued with the cause of world peace, he made a pioneer contribution to a historic effort for human brotherhood and betterment. In those days it was what we would call a "plum" for a young man to be invited to make the annual Fourth of July oration on Boston Common. He used the occasion, in address which was called "The True Grandeur of Nations," to make a slashing attack on war and the war party that besets every democracy in time of peace. In this fighting speech, Brooks tells us, "he had shown that every warship costs as much as a college to build and keep. Each port hole cost as much as a professor—an argument that greatly impressed New England. Sumner had suggested," and was breaking new ground in doing so, "a world court and a League of Nations." A later chronicler wrote that his oration had had an "epoch making significance in the history of the peace movement."

REVIEWER REACTION

When Charles Sumner lay on his death bed, his last words were "Do not let the Civil Rights Bill fail"—the bill he had sponsored to help fight the Klan-redeemer reaction against Reconstruction. When he died, and his body was being removed from his Washington home for services at the Capitol, a spontaneous procession was formed, led by a large group of Negroes, including Frederick Douglass. There was an immense throng at the final ceremonies in Boston, yet the whites were outnumbered by the Negroes.

"Throughout his many years in the Senate," says the authoritative *Dictionary of American Biography*, "the goal of his constant striving was 'absolute human equality, secured, assured and invulnerable'. He judged every man and every measure by reference to that goal."

However, when Professor David Donald's new book (depicting the first half of Sumner's life) was published last year, there was a curious, and universal reaction. As described in a recent study in one periodical: "The most striking note in the professional discussions of the book was the uniformity with which reviewers praised the author and damned his

subject. 'Arrogant, selfish, self-righteous, intolerant and supremely egotistical,' 'amazingly contentious,' and 'totally unfitted for public life' are among the phrases employed to describe the Massachusetts Senator from 1853 to 1874." An interesting specimen is the review in the *Saturday Review* by D. J. Boorstin, who says that Sumner "made a career of self-righteousness; "that the book helps explain "how conceit and human weakness helped bring on the Civil War;" and declares that Sumner "made not one solid constructive contribution to American politics." "Professor Donald's story," says Boorstin, "shows an opportunist who was entranced by the sound of his own voice, paralyzed by his own virtue, and who made martydrom into valuable political capital."

The reading habits of the American public are such that a successful book has a double impact. As important as its effect on lay and professional readers, perhaps more so, is its effect on the non-readers, the people whose opinions are formed and influenced by the reviews they have read, regardless of whether they later go through the motions of reading the book itself.

NASTY PHRASES & EPITHETS

The nasty phrases and epithets denouncing Charles Sumner that have been put into circulation by the publication of the Donald book make one a bit curious about the vehemence of the character assassination of one so closely identified with civil rights. The source of the evil is not necessarily the reviewers themselves, since the key quotations and anecdotes that color the reviews do originate in the book, and mostly in the preface and the last few pages, the portions of the book that a writer might expect the reviewers to see. Another clue may be found in the regional press treatment. The *Montgomery Advertiser* headlines its review "One Who Goaded the South to War"; the *Winston-Salem Journal* "Sumner the Fanatic"; the Virginia Pilot hails the book as an exposé of the forces "pushing the North inexorably toward a rejection of compromise with the slave-holding South;" the Montgomery paper stresses in its conclusion "There is at least something to say for knowing better the *nature of the enemy*." Is the "enemy" a Senator who has been dead for 87 years and would not tolerate the barbarism of slavery, or is it the Americans of today who will not tolerate the continuance of the cruel injustice of segregation and second-class citizenship?

A second look at the Donald book is clearly in order, Pulitzer Prize or not. Was it loaded in such a way as to produce those anti-Sumner reactions, which have such a contemporary overtone, and if it was, why was it, and how did the author get away with it?

The writing of biography is not a mechanical affair consisting of the placing of raw material in a hopper and turning out a product. It is not a science in the sense that predictable results will occur after the application of standardized techniques. Two equally skilled practitioners will come up with different results, based on the same material, depending entirely on the outlook and personality of the author. Professor J. A. Garraty

says in his book *The Nature of Biography* that "the average man is so contradictory and complicated that by selecting evidence carefully, a biographer can 'prove' that his subject is almost anything." This would be particularly true of one who was a public figure, as Sumner was, with many local and national political opponents, and who left behind a tremendous mass of written material of his own and of his friends and enemies. Professor Donald consulted a perfectly staggering list of manuscript collections in his quest for material about the Massachusetts Senator. However, as his senior colleague Allan Nevins once said, biography is "primarily a literary gift; it has little to do with erudite grubbing in tons of manuscripts."

As a lawyer I am very well aware that a printed record of a single trial can be used to produce, in opposing briefs, wholly contradictory versions of a single incident or series of incidents. The persuasiveness with which each opposing story is told depends entirely on the skill of the advocate in selection, in emphasis, in drawing, as unobtrusively as he can, but insistently the picture he wants the appellate court to see. How much more so must this be true of the art of biography. Garraty quotes an unknown writer in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1856 — fateful year—as having said:" A little reflection will show that half a dozen narratives of the same life may be constructed, each of which shall contain facts and facts only, while none of them shall furnish . . . a true account."

Is Professor Donald's prize-winning biography what it purports to be, an objective, scholarly appraisal of the first part of Charles Sumner's life? Or is it an attempt, behind a scholarly facade, to produce precisely the result reflected in the reviews: a downgrading of Sumner's character and personality with the result that the noble causes for which Charles Sumner fought become discredited? Is it true, as *The New York Times* reviewer said, that Donald "lets the facts he has uncovered speak for themselves," or was the reviewer too superficial?

LINCOLN ANECDOTE

Let us look at a Lincoln anecdote, used in the biography and parroted in the reviews. On first meeting Sumner in 1861 the President-elect is supposed to have said," I have never had much to do with bishops where I live, but, do you know, Sumner is my idea of a bishop." The story as told by Professor Donald conveys the implication that the totality of the wartime President's impression of the Massachusetts Senator was that he was, as we would say today, a "stuffed shirt." But a look at the original source of the anecdote, the anonymous *Diary of a Public Man*, will show that in the same breath President Lincoln had said "He is a good piece of a man, though, Sumner, and a good man."

Professor Donald quotes Carl Sandburg as having said that Sumner was "perhaps the most perfect impersonation of what the South wanted to secede from." It is a catchy phrase and is repeated in many of the reviews. What are we to think of a process of selection which omits the

opening of Sandburg's next succeeding sentence, part of a complete thought that this biographer has split off and refrained from repeating: "No other man in the Federal Government so thrust at the sin and guilt of the South. . . ."

Another quotation slipped into the book, and reverberating throughout the reviews, is rather frustrating to the analyst. We are told in the Preface (where, it seems clear to this observer, half the reviewers stop reading), that a "leading American jurist once called Sumner the most objectionable figure in American history." In this instance the reference or citation which could lead us to the original statement quoted is missing. The Professor who makes a point throughout the rest of the book of having three or more footnotes per page, does not tell us *which* jurist nor enable us to inquire into the context in which the statement was made. Was the jurist Crater, who disappeared, or Manton, who went to jail, or Taney, who said that the Negro "has no rights that the white man is bound to respect"? Does the biographer agree that the Senator who stood up to the ten to one majority to denounce the barbarism of slavery was more objectionable, say, than Judge Hathorne who hanged witches in 1692, or Benedict Arnold, who turned coat in 1778, or Quantrill who burned women and children in 1862, or Nathan Bedford Forrest who hanged Union prisoners of war because they were Negroes? Or Boss Tweed or Huey Long or Orville Faubus? What is it that made Senator Sumner so objectionable to the unknown jurist?

ODD OMISSION

Another odd sort of omission is found in the treatment, toward the end of the book, as part of the "coming of the Civil War" phase of the evolution, debate on and ultimate defeat of the so-called Crittenden compromise proposals. During the period from November 1860 to March 1861, from the time of Lincoln's election to the day of his inaugural, the lame duck President Buchanan supinely permitted the secessionist conspirators to implement their plot by the theft of national arms, ammunition and stores. In Congress, an attempt was made to end the secession by what we would call "appeasement" today. The Crittenden proposal was for an unrepealable amendment to the Constitution that would have guaranteed slavery "in all the territory of the United States now held or hereafter acquired, below the latitude of 36′ 30″. For page after page of the closing portion of this biography we are given the impression that Sumner "unmoved," "intractable," "implacable," "rudely" defeated the compromise and brought on the War, almost single handed. We are not told that it was Lincoln himself who had torpedoed the idea of surrender. The Crittenden scheme winked at the extension of slavery and Lincoln had announced in December that there would and should be no consideration given to an extension of slavery as a price of peace: "The instant you do," Lincoln had said, "they have us under again: all our labor is lost and soon or late must be done over." Professor Donald fails to quote this sentence and permits the incorrect implication that

Crittenden's proposal did not permit the extension of slavery.

The very choice of the title of the book *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* is in itself misleading and an attempt to propagate the "needless war" or "repressible conflict" idea, which implies that the Civil War need never have occurred, that the South was "forced" to take up arms, and that war guilt must be laid at the door of abolitionists such as Sumner. The book spends many pages on the abortive Crittenden compromise suggestion and Sumner's opposition to it, but omits to state that the secessionists, if they preferred peace and compromise to a war for the extension of slavery, had the votes in the Congress to pass the compromise over the opposition of the abolitionists. They sabotaged the compromise so as to whip up rebel war sentiment at home: "Had the six southerners voted" for the Compromise, Professor Nevins tells us, *Emergence of Lincoln*, pp. 402-403," the Crittenden resolutions would have had a majority of four. If the Senators from four seceding states had been in their seats, the majority would have been increased to twelve. Six of them were in Washington, but chose not to consider themselves competent to attend. According to Andrew Johnson, as soon as the vote was declared, Judah P. Benjamin [who had deliberately refrained from voting] sent a telegram to Louisiana, where the issue of secession was still undecided, notifying his state that the Crittenden scheme was lost, and the Black Republicans were carrying everything before them."

Ignoring such fraudulent treachery as that of Benjamin, Donald implies that Sumner defeated the compromise and has the temerity to conclude his book on the note: "If Sumner had been given to self-criticism, the firing on Fort Sumter might have caused him to ponder what part he himself had played in bringing on the sectional conflict. . . . As Republican martyr, he had been instrumental in keeping his party committed to an anti-slavery course and in scotching efforts at compromise."

One is reminded of James Russell Lowell's essay on the American Tract Society, where he said "What claim has Slavery to immunity from discussion? We are told that discussion is dangerous. Dangerous to what? . . . It is not partisanship, it is not fanaticism, that has forced the matter of Anti-slavery upon the American people; it is the spirit of Chrisitianity, which appeals from prejudices and predilections to the moral consciousness of the individual man."

Would Professor Donald have had Sumner take any but an anti-slavery course? What was to be expected from the South? Professor Nevins sums it up very cogently: "The South was farther from a just solution of the slavery problem in 1830 than it had been in 1789. It was farther from a tenable solution in 1860 than it had been in 1830. Why was it going from bad to worse? Because Southern leaders refused to nerve their people to pay the heavy price of race adjustment. . . . A heavy responsibility for the failure of American in this period rests with this Southern leadership which lacked imagination, ability, and courage." (*Emergence of Lincoln*, 468.)

If we substitute "segregation" for

"slavery" and "19—" for "18—" we will find this summary of Civil War guilt rather apt for today.

Not only the title of the book but some of the chapter headings seem selected to create an anti-Sumner slant in the readers mind. Phrases are selected which are drawn from the speeches and letters of the Senator's bitter political enemies — particularly the Cotton Whigs who served the Lords of the Loom—and used to convey a mood which dominates the sections of the life story thus epitomized: "A Natural Coldness . . . An Outrageous Philanthropist . . . Glacial Solitude . . . A One-idea'd Abolitionist Agitator . . . Outside of any Healthy Political Organization." Such headings cannot but have an effect on the unwary reader, just as they had an effect on reviewers who should have been more wary.

OTHER OMISSIONS

There are other instances of omissions that seem to be attributable to some motivation other than a mere desire to save space. For example, in referring to Sumner's Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard in 1848, the biographer describes it as solely a discourse on the grandeur of peace and the horror of war. No reference is made to the theme linking the two causes with which Sumner's name will ever be identified, and which are the two crucial issues of the world today: "There is but one great Human Family in which Caucasian, Ethiopian, Chinese and Indian are all brothers, children of one Father, and heirs to one happiness." At another point, Professor Donald belittles and passes lightly over Sumner's role in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853. He omits entirely any reference to the Senator's pioneering and historic speech on the state militia, the speech which concluded with the then revolutionary principle that in the state's "own volunteer military companies, marshalled under her local laws, there shall be no distinction of color or race." Here indeed may have been the seed that later flowered in the two hundred thousand Negro soldiers who helped crush the rebellion. In connection with the same convention, the biographer quotes a seemingly unflattering remark of Richard Henry Dana, of *Two Years Before the Mast* fame; a look at the original source, Dana's autobiography as edited by Charles Francis Adams, discloses that the unflattering impression in the present work is enhanced by omitting Dana's final remark: "But he [Charles Sumner] is a noble, fine hearted fellow."

Other instances of this inexplicable type of selectivity can be found, depending on how assiduous the rereviewer has the time to be. We are told by Professor Donald that Julia Ward Howe passed the judgment that Sumner had "no heart;" omitted, however, is her later estimate of the "thorough kindness and sincerity of his nature . . . we disagreed but I love him." In dealing with the break up of the friendly, intimate clique called the "Five of Clubs" to which Chevalier Howe, Longfellow, Sumner, Hillard and Felton belonged, the present biographer conveys the impression that at fault was Sumner's intolerance, which drove out the last two; he does not favor us with Mrs. Howe's contemporary judgment:

"The club is all split up, Longo and Chev are on one side; Hillard and Felton go for slavery and all the old hunkerisms."

Another, more excusable, but nevertheless somewhat revealing omission in the present work, has to do with Charles Sumner's friendship with Fanny Kemble, the great British actress and international star of the period. Professor Donald confines his reference to an admiration for the actress apparently cultivated as an "acquired taste" in imitation of Sumner's law professor and a subsequent, apparently chance encounter. It would have been of interest to have been told, as we were not in this book, of how Francis Anne Kemble came to be Sumner's client after the breakup of her glamorous marriage to Pierce Butler, wealthy Philadelphia slaveowner, and how he helped work out the divorce settlement. That, however, might have led to the background of the divorce, including the famous two years spent by Fanny Kemble on Butler's Sea Island plantation, where she saw and was horrified and revolted by the workings of the slave system, as seen from the inside. This she was to record and publish in her *Diary of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* which suggests that in his incorruptible and implacable opposition to slavery Charles Sumner was not such an "extremist" as passages in the Donald book seem to indicate.

The English actress summed up her first-hand observations in a letter to the *London Times:* "In treating Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's work as an exaggerated picture of the evils of slavery, I beg to assure you that you do her a serious injustice. . . . Of the book's truth and moderation as a representation of the slave system in the United States I can testify with the experience of an eyewitness, having been a resident in the southern states, and had opportunities of observation such as no one who has not lived on a slave estate can have. . . . The Southern slaveholders are a very different race of men from either Manchester manufacturers or Massachusetts merchants; they are a remnant of barbarism and feudalism."

BOOK HAS GOOD POINTS

It would be unfair to Professor Donald to leave the impression that he had failed to include most of the constructive achievements of Sumner's early career as a reformer or outstanding service in the pre-war phase of his Senatorial career. Obviously the book would not have won the acclaim it has if it were that biased. The context, however, is so constructed as to leave a most unkind impression of Sumner. In addition to the types of omission referred to above there are matters of emphasis, which tends to avoid enhancing the stature of the figure being depicted.

There is passed over, back-handedly, in a minor phrase in a sentence dealing with another subject, an incident which would seem colorful enough to warrant separate treatment, if not a chapter in itself: "Sumner had known Howe casually since 1837, when the two men, at considerable personal risk, helped quell an anti-Irish riot on Broad Street. . . ." Not another word of how this Brahmin became involved in the situation, dramatic in view of the future of the

Irish as the political kingpins of Boston, or their contemporary role as supporters of slavery. Yet a chapter of over thirty pages is devoted to a seemingly inconclusive discussion of whether Sumner was shamming or malingering, when, for three years after a cowardly atrocious assault by a South Carolinian on the Senate floor, he was forced to absent himself from his desk. While the biographer avoids a charge of outright character assassination by rendering a verdict of "not proved" on the charge of malingering, the overlong discussion of the charge, and the inconclusive termination of that discussion help give the charge currency, particularly with the great emphasis placed on the supposed political advantage gained by the martyrdom, which one almost comes to think of as self-inflicted after reading the treatment here.

There is relegated to a footnote an evaluation of Sumner's anti-war work as having had an "epoch-making significance," and yet there is most of a chapter devoted to the near deadlock and partisan maneuvering at the session of the legislature that first elected Sumner to the Senate.

References to contemporaries of Sumner are also, in some instances, out of tune with what one had thought to be the verdict of history. Of the great Dr. William Ellery Channing, who needs no introduction to those acquainted with the history of Unitarianism as a force for social betterment, Donald says "it is difficult to explain the enormous influence this frail, aging spokeman for liberal religion exercised," and adds a concatenation of derogatory quotations. Channing needs no defense here. A fair contemporary estimate was given by Charles Dickens in his report of his trip to the U. S., *American Notes:* "I mention the name of this distinguished and accomplished man . . . that I may have the gratification of recording my humble tribute of admiration and respect for his high abilities and character, and for the bold philanthropy with which he has ever opposed himself to that most hideous blot and foul disgrace —Slavery."

For an explanation in the calm after-glance of history, one needs only to look into V. L. Parrington's *Main Currents In American Thought:* "Channing's heritage was drawn from the deepest wells of New England idealism; and filtered through his finely ethical mind it emerged pure and limpid, the living waters of the new faith. His noble pre-eminence was due to the simple spirituality of his nature." It should not be really difficult to understand the enormous influence of such a man, leader in the pulpit of Boston, who, when the Abolitionists were mobbed, and their presses broken, rejoiced in their refusal to be silenced, in their stubborn extremism, if you will: "From my heart I thank them," Channing wrote, "I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety, had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. . . . I thank the Abolitionists, that in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray."

To match Professor Donald's downgrading, or at least dismissal of Dr. Channing, we find on the other side a casual, but extremely puzzling reference to the "genuinely *antislavery* Webster." Daniel Webster anti-slavery? Revisionism in historical scholarship should not go that far. Yet none of the commentators on the biography of Sumner in which this passage appears recalled the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the wisest and noblest American of them all: "I have lived all my life without suffering any known inconvenience from American Slavery. I never saw it; I never heard the whip; I never felt the check on my free speech and action, until, the other day, when Mr. Webster, by his personal influence, brought the Fugitive Slave Law on the country. . . . Mr. Webster decided for Slavery, and that, when the aspect of the institution was no longer doubtful, no longer feeble and apologetic and proposing soon to end itself, but when it was strong, aggressive, and threatening an illimitable increase."

BOOK'S STYLE

So far, this discussion has touched upon omissions and inclusions which have seemed to help produce the chorus of centennial denunciations of Charles Sumner and what he stood for in America of 1840-1860. It is desirable and necessary also to look at the "elements of style," to borrow from the title of a terse and able work on literary craftsmanship that has come in to vogue in recent years. The Strunk & White book tells us to "be sparing in the use of adverbs . . . let the conversation itself describe the speaker's manner or condition." They also tell us that "opinions scattered indiscriminately about leave the mark of egotism on a work." Even Professor Weisberger, whose review in *The Nation* opens by raising an eyebrow at the flood of denunciations of Sumner let loose by the publication of the book, concludes by suggesting that after all, "Mr. Donald . . . simply sets the record straight and lets the implications fall where they may." Yet in reading the book one does find an impressive mass of violations of the Strunk-White admonition against inserting one's own adverbs — and a lot of extra-curricular adjectives too.

In a random trip through the book we find it is the biographer who tells us that Sumner's letters as a student were "tedious" (p. 20); he talked "incessantly" (p. 37); his career was marked by "moral terrorism" (p. 40); in a single short paragraph the biographer characterized Sumner's letters as expressing his thoughts "loftily," "scornfully," and "querulously," (pp. 60-61). Only a few lines later the subject of the biography is said to have behaved "indignantly" "a bit too emphatically," "rather repetitiously" and "sententiously." (pp. 61-62). The biographer goes on to tell us—as if he feared we were not capable of making our own judgments—that his subject wrote "smugly" (p. 71); announced something "complacently" (p. 74); made an observation "snobbishly" (p. 84) and that he "icily" and "stonily" asked an apology for what he deemed an affront (p. 93).

SUMNER NOT EXTREME

The most frequently injected char-

acterization is "extreme" or "extremist"—in one fifteen page stretch that word is used five times by a biographer who certainly does not want to be misunderstood. It is hard, however, to understand just what he means when he says "It must be, Sumner concluded with his usual passion for carrying an argument to a logical extreme, the external circumstances of climate which made the Ethiopian black and the New Englander white." (p. 104).

The reformers (we'd call them "liberals" nowadays) who responded enthusiastically to Sumner's first great anti-war speech are called, gratuitously, "doctrinaire" (p. 114); Professor Donald disposes of all such as practitioners of "reform through verbal exorcism, through public disapproval of an institution considered wrong" (p. 116); without any evidence save the biographer's own hunch we are told that Sumner's willingness to deliver an anti-war oration to an audience well-laced with local and national brass was not courageous, "not, in fact, so much audacity as insensitivity to the weight and edge of his own words." (p. 117).

Again and again throughout the balance of the book we are showered or peppered with derogatory opinions about Sumner — "thoroughly pleased with his own efforts" (119); "extremism" (124); "all Boston was shocked by the intemperance of Sumner's vituperation" (125); "extremist" (132); "complacency" (135); "extreme conclusions" (137); "unctuously" (144); "feebly protested" (145); "platitudinous" (168); "this holy blissful martyr thrived on his torments" (176); his letter of acceptance of his Senate seat was "rather unnecessary . . . as from on Mt. Sinai" (219); "extreme conclusion" (227); "petulant" (241); "peeved, peremptorily" and "ponderously" (247); "disproportionate bitterness" (248); "sententiously" (370) "frenetic" (372) and "ponderous" (377).

Is this a "truly perceptive" book, as Bruce Catton put it, or one that is "drawn with precise and subtle shading," as R. N. Current wrote in *The Times?* Or does it not, in fact, seem a bit loaded, and calculated to produce the wave of condemnations of Sumner found in the reviews?

One readily concedes, on the basis of the testimony of his contemporaries, that Charles Sumner had his defects as a human being—who does not! His greatest faults seemed to have been a lack of sense of humor, and an unwillingness to concede the sincerity of an opponent. Quoting Dr. Channing in his great essay on Sumner, Colonel Higginson says "if a man is not great enough to be painted as he is he had better not be painted at all. It is perhaps fortunate that no man combines all points of superiority. . . . If Sumner had combined, for instance, the extraordinary qualities of his own nature with a personal fascination like that of Henry Clay, he might have been so powerful as to be dangerous to the liberties of the country. Who knows? This last inexplicable spell of personal magnetism was not his. . . . Yet it is very incorrect to say, as has sometimes been said, that he was indifferent to persons and cared only for principles. I have never known in public life so prompt and faithful a correspondent; or one so ready to espouse the cause of some individual man or woman who needed aid; He had no band

of henchmen, no one who had been won to support him for value received; but the blessings of the poor, the friendless, the powerless were his."

BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAYAL

Even if one were to assume and admit Professor Donald's good faith, his job on Charles Sumner, falls within the strictures of André Maurois, lecturing on "Aspects of Biography." The great French biographer well says: "The biographer who imagines that he can improve upon nature by modifying the element of the ridiculous in great men, by omitting a love-letter written in a moment of weakness, by denying a change in front or of doctrine, such a biographer mutilates, distorts and, in the last analysis, belittles his hero. *There is only one more dangerous kind of biographer, the kind that suppresses or diminishes the elements of greatness and of moral beauty in his subject.*"

It may be outside the scope of a study such as this to examine into the separate question of the author's motivation. One should not necessarily hold against a young man the fact that he was born and raised in Mississippi and educated at a college there. Nor need it have poisoned a doctoral student's graduate training to have learned at the feet of Professor J. G. Randall, who, in writing of Reconstruction says "The Klan did of course . . . enforce standards of social conduct" *(Civil War & Reconstruction,* p. 858) or "Abuses in Southern Black Codes were constantly emphasized while their merits were obscured" (734).

However, it does seem that Professor Donald entered upon his task with certain predilections. In writing, thirteen years ago in his biography of *Lincoln's Herndon,* young Donald then said of Sumner's senate speech "The Crime Against Kansas," which was followed by the felonious assault in the Senate chamber by South Carolina's Brooks: "In spite of its perfumed quotations from the classics, the speech reeked of the sewer." I have taken the trouble to read the speech and think that statement far from the truth. For a more detached view, however, let us go to the contemporary *London Times* (pro-slavery by economic necessity) which discussed the question of the Kansas speech as a "provocation" for violence and summed it up: "The speech was elaborately strong, but not stronger than many delivered within the walls of Parliament during the discussion of the Reform and Emancipation bills." Another contemporary view given by Dr. M. D. Conway, a clergyman born in Virginia, explains the assault as due to the characteristically low cultural level of the slaveholding aristocracy: "The fury of Brooks was probably excited by a literary illustration he did not understand. Sumner described Butler as the Don Quixote of the new assault on freedom, and Douglas as his Sancho Panza, adding that as Don Quixote had his Dulcinea to defend, so the Senator from South Carolina had the harlot—slavery. . . . There was nothing unparliamentary in this, but it was rococo and strained."

One perhaps can depart from the subject of the Brooks assault by quoting the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson — words, alas, that are fit-

ting to be applied so often today: "It is only when they cannot answer your reasons, that they wish to knock you down."

AUTHOR'S PREDILECTIONS

Other clues as to Professor Donald's predilections may be found in his writings. Tut-tutting, in his *Lincoln's Herndon* the outcry in the free states over the Dred Scott decision he says: "Why all the excitement? Why all the noise and fireworks? Has anyone been injured? Why wreck the Union because a repealed statute was declared unconstitutional? Was anybody really serious in thinking that Illinois might be made a slave state? . . . Herndon would willingly sit down to the bloody feast of civil war in order to forestall a hypothetical attempt on the part of an imaginery Southern despotism to extend slavery into Illinois."

A few pages later, characterizing Herndon's anti-slavery views as "intolerance" the biographer concludes: "It never occurred to him that slavery was something more than organized oppression, that the plantation was a way of life." One is tempted to respond that Fanny Kemble, who lived on one for two years, did not think so.

Most students of the history of the Negro's struggle for full emancipation are familiar with the obstructive role of the writings of Ulrich B. Phillips, whose major historical work was built on a basic assumption of "innate and inherited racial inferiority," to use the words of Professor Elkins. Forty years of effort to displace Phillips came to a head a few years ago in the publication of Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution*. Professor Donald reviewed the Stammp book for *Commentary* magazine and complains that it is "long on morality, short on historical understanding." Typical of the sort of thinking and writing that shows the link between confederate-oriented historical writing and contemporary pro-segregation apologetics is his conclusion: "Southern slave codes, Southern violence, then Southern insistence upon separation of the races were evidence of a very real fear, not of some avaricious desire to keep a docile labor force in subjection."

In an essay concluding a recently reprinted collection under the title *Lincoln Reconsidered*, Professor Donald suggests that the Civil War was caused by an "Excess of Democracy" and says that "Americans by the middle of the nineteenth century suffered from an excess of liberty, they were increasingly unable to arrive at reasoned, independent judgments upon the problems which faced their society." What he fails to state, in offering this provocative hypothesis, is that there was no "excess" of democracy in deciding the issue of peace or war. On the contrary. James Russell Lowell pointed out that "the leaders of the Southern Rebellion did not dare to expose their treason to the risk of a popular vote in any one of the seceding states."

However, it is not Professor Donald who is on trial here, it is his book. He is undoubtedly a brilliant and extremely hard-working scholar. He has risen very fast in the academic world and, being human, has not only made mistakes but is capable of learning from them. Justice to Charles Sumner, however, called for

putting the spotlight on the weaknesses of omitted quotations and inserted adverbs that mar this "prize biography."

One is tempted to, but really should not, close by recalling Upton Sinclair's first novel, recently reissued under the title *Theirs Be the Guilt*. Sinclair, born in the South, had eight blood relatives who served in the Rebel armed forces and is qualified to describe with authority aspects of life on a Mississippi plantation. Sinclair describes how the children, in those days before the War, were taught to hate and fear the monstrous creatures of the North who were called Abolitionists. Those demons, the children were told, "believed that Negroes were as good as white men and that they ought to be free. They were always holding meetings and 'resolving' and publishing articles to say that slaveholders were brutal men who beat the Negroes cruelly and wantonly; some Abolitionists came down from the North to stir the slaves to revolt, and to steal them and carry them off to Canada." In a climactic scene at the plantation, when one of the youngsters is obliged to accompany his father to Boston where the latter must seek medical care, he is presented by a cousin and playmate with a package containing a note:

> "Dear Allan, I give you my hunting knife. I want you to keep it til you come across an abbleitionist. *Then you will know what to do.* Grandfather said to die for our country, but I doutt if they would dare to hang a man fir kiling an abbleitionist."

Charles Sumner was beloved of the men of his day who loved mankind truly. He had earned their esteem and their affection. He deserves ours.

NEEDED — "A STROKE OF THE PEN"

The drive for a presidential order to end discrimination in federal housing operations has reached a peak with submission to the President of major documents by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and the United States Civil Rights Commission.

On September 22, NCDH sent the President a proposed executive order to end discrimination in all housing activities aided in any way whatsoever by the government, with a supporting brief and memorandum of law.

On October 6, the commission released its report on government involvement in housing bias, stressing the role of financial institutions. Its recommendations coincide with NCDH's call for an executive order.

REVEREND J. O. LLOYD (L), *makes a $50 payment on his church's NAACP life membership to Dr. L. J. Morris, president of the Gloucester, Va., branch. Witness to this payment for the Zion Hill Baptist Church are W. W. Bayton (C) and James Bourden, rear.*

On these two pages are floats and members of the Colorado Springs, Colorado, NAACP youth groups which participated in the local Rodeo Parade. This was the first time a Negro had entered floats.

V. Brogg (at L) one of the two adult members who participated. The girls are the Johnson sisters.

One of the marching units entered in the parade.

Rear view of one of the floats.

A side view of one of the floats.

Another marching unit which was entered in the parade.

Looking and Listening . . .

AFRICAN WRITING PROJECT

THE success in training Africans to write "for Africans" experienced at the All-Africa Literacy and Writing Center in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, reports *The Religious Newsweekly* (October 24, 1961), has sparked plans for a similar center in Yaoundé, French Cameroun.

The announcement was made by Dr. Floyd Shacklock, director of "Lit-Lit," which sponsors the Kitwe work, at the fall meeting of the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature of the National Council of Churches.

He also reported that a $50,000 gift from the Commission on Christian Literature for Women and Children for the work at Kitwe is being matched by "Lit-Lit," and that, to date, $40,000 of a goal of $75,000, set by United Church Women for the projects, has been received. The writing programs in Africa are one of the principal emphases of church women participating in the World Day of Prayer this year.

Luncheon guests heard an enthusiastic report from Lucy Eldredge who had just returned from serving five months on the teaching staff at the writing center. Situated four miles from Kitwe, it is a part of the Mindolo Ecumenical Center.

For most students, said Miss Eldredge, this was their first multiracial, international and interdenominational experience. Living in a dormitory with students ranging in age from 15 to 53, she noted their "keen interest in everything going on in the world." She added, "They're so used to difficulties that no undertaking discourages them."

Monthly magazines have been found to be most in demand, she said, and writing training is concentrated in this field. One of the 100 students who have studied at Kitwe to date, has returned home to start a newspaper, however, and one is working on a Bible dictionary. Another student, Miss Eldredge reported, declared that "this is the first time I've been in touch with first-class Christianity." Miss Eldredge is a former youth editor with the Friendship Press.

SHARECROPPERS

WE have excerpted these items from *Sharecroppers in the 60's: A Report and a Program* (National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.):

At the end of 1960, 700 sharecropper and tenant farmer families received eviction notices from their employer-landlords in Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee. Why did this happen? The landowners claimed that the mechanization of their farms had made the use of sharecroppers uneconomical, but the United States Department of Justice won a suit in court that proved that the evictions were the direct result of the sharecroppers having exercised

UPI Photo

TRIP OF A LIFETIME—*Former Zulu Chief Albert Luthuli, winner of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, and his daughter, Albertina, arrive in Durban, South Africa, to arrange for their trip to Oslo. A long-time foe of apartheid, Luthuli is the ex-leader of the now-banned South African National Congress. He has been granted a passport and ten days to travel to Norway, Collect his prize, and return.*

their right to vote. The sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Fayette-Haywood were Negroes who, despite their numerical majority, had been prevented from participating in elections since the Civil War. The landowners presumably hoped the evictions would halt the movement for civil rights and restore the *status quo*.

The Fayette-Haywood evictions attracted world-wide attention that centered on the establishment of a tent community known as Freedom Village where many of the evicted families are still housed. But in addition to revealing the plight of men, women, and children forced to live in surplus army tents, these events brought the nation's attention again to a feudalistic institution in Southern agricultural life, and to its effect on the struggle for political and economic democracy in the American South. . . .

[Southern sharecropping is declining] and tenant farmers (all sharecroppers and over 60 per cent of tenant farmers are in the 16 Southern states) are being forced into migratory and seasonal farm labor or, if they migrate to the cities, into the position of competing for a diminishing number of unskilled jobs. In 1950 there were 900,000 sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South. Today there are less than 380,000, of whom 120,000 are sharecroppers (who numbered 350,000 in 1950). Hired farm laborers, who neither own nor rent farms but are hired for varying periods of time, now constitute 25 per cent of all farm workers. While the number of regular hired farm workers (those working over 150 days per year) *decreased* 11 per cent in states outside the South during the 1954-59 period, their number *increased* 17 per cent in the Southern states. In Mississippi, for example, tenant farmers and sharecroppers decreased from 100,000 to 45,000 during the five-year period, while hired farm workers rose by 72 per cent, from 18,000 to 31,000.

Clearly, these former farmers found a very limited employment choice after being displaced from their farms. In terms of education, vocational training, and knowledge of, or ability to qualify for, government assistance programs, Southern sharecroppers are ill-equipped to survive as farmers or to seek alternative employment after they are forced off the land. They may remain in the area as hired laborers, hauled daily to large plantations; or they may take their chances in the unemployment-heavy industrial cities. . . .

ANGOLESE REFUGEES

THE October 1961 issue of *National Newsletter*, published by the American Council for Nationalities Service, New York City, has a report on the anguish in Angola.

The days of Portuguese control in Angola may be numbered but the Portuguese are putting up a bitter fight. They even contend that they have the rebellion under control and the countryside pacified.

How true this is difficult to say. While the military may control the major towns and strong points it seems extremely doubtful that they have all of the bush and jungle country firmly under wraps. Indeed, it is estimated that the refugee outflow, still unchecked, has reached upwards of 140,000, mostly from the Bakongo tribe fleeing into the Congo. Obviously, if this is true, they are not fleeing from nothing, but rather from the brutalities of internecine conflict in which unspeakable cruelties have been committed on both sides. An equal number of natives is said to be displaced from their homes and villages and hiding in the jungle.

There are white refugees as well, most of whom have repatriated them-

UPI Photo

A JOB WELL DONE—*Leontyne Price, star of the Metropolitan Opera's 77th opening night on October 23, is being congratulated by Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg at a backstage meeting. Miss Price, who played the title role in Puccini's "Girl of the Golden West," was the first Negro singer to have a starring first-night role at the "Met."*

selves to Portugal. The number has not been released by the Portuguese government. Certainly one of the principal reasons for their exile has been the economic distress caused by the fighting, as well as fear of life and limb. It is estimated that 90 per cent of this year's $40,000,000 coffee crop has been destroyed.

In a desperate move to counter the rising tide of nationalism the Portuguese have announced the rescinding of their famous "Indigenous Law" under which the whites and most mulattoes were classed as "civilized" but all but a handful of blacks were regarded as "uncivilized"—the principal way of climbing out of the latter stage being by attainment of an educational and income status completely unreachable by the average black man. The abolition of the "Indigenous Law" and the granting of "equal status" to all inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies in Africa may well come too late.

Even citizens of Portugal are complaining that the whole embroilment has come because of the harshness and restrictions of the Portuguese colonial rulers. They point to such facts as the lack of educational opportunity in the colony, in which there were only 13 blacks who graduated from high school last year. They also point to the small number of blacks, 30,000, out of the total of 4,500,000 who managed to become "civilized." Repression has even been visited on non-blacks. Various non-Portuguese whites who have sided with the natives, like the four Methodist ministers recently arrested, have been deported to Portugal and stored carefully away in jail.

The majority of the whites in Angola, uncomfortably like the French "colons" in Algeria, declare they will never leave Angola, nor give up their actual power. They refuse to see any handwriting on Angola's walls or if they see it to admit its relevance to them. In the meanwhile, whether or not the colony is temporarily "pacified," the refugees still stream out. And the neighboring Congo territories, recently freed of their own French and Belgian masters, are obviously in no condition to give permanent or effective asylum. They recognize this themselves and are calling on the world for help. Whether the world will respond is a moot question. The spread of the social and political disease that creates refugees is breathlessly fast, difficult to cope with and as yet apparently impossible to stamp out.

FLIGHT CAPTAIN — "CHARLY" EBOUE

AMONG the men who are helping to make modern Africa is Charles Éboué, the youngest son of the late Félix Éboué, who was for four years (1940-1944) Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa. Let *Afrique* (Paris, France, October 1961) tell us something about "Charly," as his friends call him:

The passengers have just fastened their seat belts. The mike begins to crackle: 'Captain Charles Éboué and his crew welcome you aboard. You are going. . . .' He is Charles to the passengers but on the ground everybody calls him 'Charly.' Is it because of his perpetual smile or because of his kindly and friendly disposition? 'Charley' Éboué, 37, with 14,000 hours of flying time to his credit, is, at any rate, prob-

ably the first African flight captain and one of the best pilots employed by UAT (Aeromarine Transport Union), a privately owned French airline serving Africa. [Incidentally, UAT is probably the only European owned airline which trains and hires Africans as flight personnel.]

'Charly' has someone to take after, since he is the youngest of the children of the late Félix Éboué. He was born in 1924 at Bangassou in The Central African Republic, where his father was then an administrator, and he spent his childhood moving from one African city to another in the course of his father's administrative transfers. At 11 he was in the Sudan when the celebrated aviator Pelletier d'Oisy flew in to inaugurate an airfield. When d'Oisy took the boy aboard his Potez 69, Charles received his air baptism. The youngster was wonderstruck; it was not just a baptism but a communion. He resolved to be an aviator despite his father's objections. His two older brothers had already expressed their desire to be flyers but their father had vigorously objected. But in 1939 when he had to return to Fort Lamy in a hurry, Governor Éboué made his first plane trip and from then on he was 'sold' on flying. In the meantime Charles was sublimating his ambition by making model planes. Noting his father's change of view, he went on the offensive, until his father finally gave in. 'Pass your B.A. exams and you may become a pilot.' This didn't have to be repeated. Charles soon passed his exams with flying colors.

"CHARLY" ÉBOUÉ *at the controls.*

After the Franco-German armistice of World War II, French Equatorial Africa went over to the side of the Allies. Young Charles wanted to get into the fighting, but since he was only 16 he was sent to a *lycée* instead. From there he went to the French *collège* at Cairo, Egypt, and spent his vacation during the summer of 1941 at Brazzaville and enrolled in an aviation club in Léopoldville, winning a tourist-certificate. Intensely proud of his 10 hours of flying time and his 18 years, he then enrolled as a volunteer in the air corps of the Free French Forces. He was then sent to England for further training, where he took a course in piloting from the RAF. But he had a drive to learn more. He trained in Canada for nearly a year, finishing first in a group of 80 pilots. He took additional specialized training and learned to fly the famous *Spitfire*. But just when he was ready for frontline duty Germany surrendered and the war was over.

When 'Charly' was demobilized he still wanted to be a pilot and so he and a companion decided to enter a commercial aviation school.

'We believed the French airlines were just waiting for us. And to think that I had had only 550 flight-hours on single-engined planes!'

Actually there were hundreds of competing demobilized pilots with thousands of hours of flying time on bombers and army transport planes, but no company was interested in them because they had had no experience in commercial aviation. 'Charly' continued to study until he received his license to fly commercial airliners. He worked with Air-France on multi-motored planes, where he acquired the necessary flying time. He worked for a while with STA (Transatlantic Airline Co.), a cargo carrier.

But since he had recently married, he found this wandering life irksome and he was glad to accept an offer from Aigle-Azur which was then based at Hanoi. He lived at Hanoi with his wife and daughter until his return to France in 1952. . . . When Aigle-Azur merged with UAT in 1955, 'Charly' became one of the company's most valued flight captains. He is now a familiar figure on the Dakar-Abidjan-Douala route. . . .

"CHARLY" *checks his watch before a flight.*

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

NAACP TRIAL IN ALABAMA

ONE more step toward returning to activity in the State of Alabama was made possible in October by a ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court that Alabama must give the NAACP a hearing by January 2 or federal courts will hear the case.

The NAACP has been barred since 1956 from soliciting members or contributions or from carrying on any program of activity in Alabama. A temporary injunction halting the NAACP was issued by a state court, but since June 1, 1956, the state courts have refused to hold a hearing on the merits of the case.

Robert L. Carter, general counsel of the NAACP, who devised the attack and directed the strategy in the Alabama case, commented that the latest Supreme Court ruling on October 23 is one "to make certain that state authorities do not continue to frustrate the NAACP's five-year effort to test the legality of the injunction."

In calling for Alabama to give the NAACP a hearing, the high court cited a 1921 ruling which asserted:

> "The [Constitution] requires that every man shall have the protection of his day in court and the benefit of the general law—a law which hears before it condemns, which proceeds not arbitrarily or capriciously but upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after trial."

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Actually there were hundreds of competing demobilized pilots with thousands of hours of flying time on bombers and army transport planes, but no company was interested in them because they had had no experience in commercial aviation. 'Charly' continued to study until he received his license to fly commercial airliners. He worked with Air-France on multi-motored planes, where he acquired the necessary flying time. He worked for a while with STA (Transatlantic Airline Co.), a cargo carrier.

But since he had recently married, he found this wandering life irksome and he was glad to accept an offer from Aigle-Azur which was then based at Hanoi. He lived at Hanoi with his wife and daughter until his return to France in 1952. . . . When Aigle-Azur merged with UAT in 1955, 'Charly' became one of the company's most valued flight captains. He is now a familiar figure on the Dakar-Abidjan-Douala route. . . .

"CHARLY" *checks his watch before a flight.*

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RIVERSIDE'S FIRST NAACP LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Mrs. Exie Lee Hampton (R) of the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club, Riverside, Calif., presents Mrs. Lulu Mae Clemens (L), president of the local branch, and Mrs. Gay Caroline, branch treasurer, a check for $500 for the VBPWC's NAACP life membership.*

RING IN THE NEW

with a resolution to become a

Life Member

of

NAACP

Start the New Year with a new dedication to the struggle for equal rights, equal opportunity! Take the first big step now—become a LIFE MEMBER of the one organization dedicated to this task . . . the NAACP. Fill out and mail the membership coupon today—it can be your most important decision for 1961!

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

JACKIE ROBINSON

CO-CHAIRMEN

Lily Alexander	Bishop Eugene C. F. Hatcher	A. Philip Randolph
George A. Beavers, Jr.	George K. Hunton	Dr. Riley A. Ransom, Jr.
Bishop W. Y. Bell	Dr. Mordecai Johnson	Dr. Eugene T. Reed
Dr. George D. Cannon	*Mrs. Daisy Lampkin*	*Walter Reuther*
Dr. W. Montague Cobb	*Dr. J. Leonidas Leach*	*Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt*
Nathaniel Colley	Hon. Herbert H. Lehman	Mrs. Nellie Roulhac
Dr. Walter T. Darden	Dr. James E. Levy	Mrs. Rose Morgan Saunders
Hon. Hubert T. Delany	Bishop Edgar A. Love	Ike Smalls
Earl B. Dickerson	Dr. James J. McClendon	Dr. Alf E. Thomas, Jr.
Mrs. Katherine W. Frederick	Cornelius McDougald	Frederick N. Weathers
J. Ralph Harlow	Dr. Maurice Robb	Mrs. Pauline Weeden

I have resolved to become a LIFE MEMBER of NAACP!

☐ I enclose $500 as full payment for my Life Membership.

☐ I enclose $..... as first payment toward my Life Membership.
(Installments of as little as $50 a year for 10 years will pay for your Life Membership.)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY AND STATE.....

Send to your Local Branch . . . or to

NAACP HEADQUARTERS

20 W. 40th St. · New York 18, N. Y.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

NAACP TRIAL IN ALABAMA

ONE more step toward returning to activity in the State of Alabama was made possible in October by a ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court that Alabama must give the NAACP a hearing by January 2 or federal courts will hear the case.

The NAACP has been barred since 1956 from soliciting members or contributions or from carrying on any program of activity in Alabama. A temporary injunction halting the NAACP was issued by a state court, but since June 1, 1956, the state courts have refused to hold a hearing on the merits of the case.

Robert L. Carter, general counsel of the NAACP, who devised the attack and directed the strategy in the Alabama case, commented that the latest Supreme Court ruling on October 23 is one "to make certain that state authorities do not continue to frustrate the NAACP's five-year effort to test the legality of the injunction."

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LEADERSHIP—*The Corona Congregational Church is now a NAACP life member. From L are Rev. G. W. Hinton, former pastor; Father Harold L. Wright, vicar, Church of the Resurrection; Dr. George D. Cannon, member NAACP national life membership committee; and Rev. Robert D. Sherard, president Corona-East Elmhurst branch and pastor of Corona Congregational Church.*

Frederick, a member of the Association's national Life Membership Committee of which Kivie Kaplan, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, and Jackie Robinson are co-chairmen.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST LESTER BANKS

VIRGINIA dropped charges against W. Lester Banks, NAACP official, in October, for allegedly violating its anti-trespass law. He had refused to leave a "white" restaurant in Lynchburg.

"Charges against you have been dropped by virtue of entering of a nolle prosequi," said Royston Jester III, commonwealth attorney for the city of Lynchburg, in a letter to Mr. Banks, dated October 20.

Mr. Banks, executive secretary of the Association's Virginia organization, entered the Norfolk and Western Railway station to purchase a ticket on October 16. He was arrested after he refused to leave the restaurant where he had been denied service.

NAACP Challenges Maryland Law

THE New York State Conference and the Maryland State Conference, in cooperation with the legal staff of the national office, struck a telling blow against segregation along Route #40 in the State of Maryland.

Dr. Eugene T. Reed, New York State Conference president; president Paul Dennis of the New Rochelle branch; president attorney Percy Sutton of the New York City branch; president the Rev. Robert Sherard of the Corona-East Elmhurst branch; and Mrs. Evelyn Cunningham Haynes of the New York City branch; having been invited to attend a human rights conference in Washington, scheduled for October 28, 1961, agreed to travel together by car and to also test restaurant facilities on Route #40 on the way.

These leaders first consulted NAACP general counsel Robert L. Carter and Mrs. Juanita Mitchell of the Maryland legal defense committee and, as a precaution for their own safety, it was agreed in advance to tell the press of their plans.

They left New York at 5:00 p.m. on October 27, followed by three cars filled with reporters The planned stop was the Williamsberg Inn. However, on their arrival at the Inn, they found a contingent of the Maryland State Police and a large sign which said that the Inn was closed for the night. The party than proceeded to the Double T Diner, which is about nine miles from Baltimore. There the ancient and infamous Maryland Tresspass Law was read to them by the owner and they were arrested. The four men were hustled off to the police station in a paddy wagon. Mrs. Haynes was taken to the station later in a police car accompanied by a police matron. After finger printing, the five were released on $103 bail each. Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell and Paul Cockrell, attorneys for the Maryland State Conference, arranged bail and release. On November 3, the five returned to Fullerton for a hearing and asked for a jury trial. Magistrate Paul O. Miles continued the $103 bails and they will be tried in Baltimore County Circuit Court on a date to be set. They will be represented at that time by NAACP general counsel Robert L. Carter.

Among the protest telegrams sent to Governor J. Millard Tawles of Maryland was one from Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, and one from Louis J. Lefkowitz, attorney general of the State of New York. In addition, Attorney General Lefkowitz sent two of his aides to the hearing to lend assistance.

These arrests came in the wake of a raging controversy over restaurant segregation on the Maryland section of Route 40. Numerous complaints of

KIVIE KAPLAN, *national co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee, is shown presenting an NAACP life membership plaque to Mrs. Esther R. Phillips of Cambridge, Mass. Dr. Robert Phillips (L) is Mrs. Phillips' son and is himself a life member.*

insults to African diplomats and colored Americans who sought service while traveling along the highway have been brought to the attention of Maryland officials and the Executive branch of the federal government. In the meantime, (CORE) The Congress of Racial Equality, had planned a massive freedom ride for November 11 on this Route. Nevertheless, until the time of the arrest of our NEW YORK NAACP leaders, the problem remained unsolved. It isn't completely solved now and won't be until the unlawfull use of that trespass law is declared unconstitutional and anti-bias legislation is adopted by the Maryland State Legislature. However, as of this writing, many of the restaurants in question have agreed to voluntarily desegregate and as result CORE decided to call off its previously scheduled freedom ride along Route #40.

Dr. Eugene T. Reed

What the Branches Are Doing

Youth and College units of the NAACP launched a nation-wide fall membership drive on October 23 to enroll 35,000 new members into the youth and college division of the Association by December 31. In announcing the opening of the drive, NAACP youth secretary Herbert L. Wright reminded the youth and college chapters that even more than organized solicitation was required to reach the 35,000 goal.

Colorado: The COLORADO SPRINGS branch entered a float, assembled by the youth council with the help of a few adults, in the local Rodeo Parade. This is the first time Negroes have participated in this manner in these parades. The girls in the marching uni twere youth members of the branch and Daughter Elks. The float and the marching unit received ovations and the branch received the Silver Supr Award for participation as well as a letter of commendation from the Chamber of Commerce.

Illinois: This statement was issued by the CHICAGO branch as a comment on Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis' recommendation to dismiss Mrs. Doris Baker from the Chicago public school system:

"The action of Superintendent Benpaming C. Willis in recommending that Mrs. Doris Baker be dismissed from her position as a probationary teacher in the Chicago Public Schools indicates the extent to which he will go in attempting to silence critics of his administration.

"Not only is there a question of civil liberties involved, but there is also a question of purposeful intimidation by the Superintendent of Schools in an effort to squelch any movement that legitimately protests the inequalities that exist in our schools. A parent who happens to be a teacher is first a parent and should have every right to be critical of the Board of Education's policies of double-shift, over crowded, and racially segregated schools in which her children are victimized.

"It is amazing to see how quickly Dr. Willis acted in the case of Mrs. Baker whose activities were not on school time, while in the case of the principal of the Oglesby School whose actions in calling out of class the Negro children to give them a lecture were clearly in violation of stated Board of Education procedure. Dr. Willis and the Board of Education chose to do nothing.

"It is evident that Benjamin C. Willis is bent upon levelling his critics while protecting those in the school system who support his program of racial segregation."

Branch president Rev. S. S. Morris spoke on behalf of the branch to

PRESIDENT *Willard L. Brown of the Charleston, W. Va., branch presents an NAACP life membership plaque to his 2-year-old son Anderson H. Brown II, who is being held by his mother. Three generations of the Brown family, including Anderson H. Brown I (at R), are NAACP life members.*

a special subcommittee on labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor on discriminatory practices in the State of Illinois.

Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, special projects director of the Association, was principal speaker when the Chicago branch held its general membership meeting on October 20.

Massachusetts: Judge Hobson R. Reynolds of Philadelphia, Pa., delivered the main address at the BOSTON branch's second annual awards banquet held on October 21 at the First Corps of Cadets Armory, Boston. Richard Cardinal Cushing, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston ,became a fully-paid life member, through the Boston branch, of the NAACP on October 26.

Michigan: Approximately 350 adult residents of the Brewster-Douglas projects attended the kick-off program to a series of free, adult and teen-age classes to be offered at the Brewster Center under the sponsorship of the young-adult-division of the DETROIT branch.

EUREKA LODGE #64, *F and AM Prince Hall AFF, makes final $400 payment on its NAACP life membership. Seated, Rev. S. S. Morris; standing (from L), Albert Grace, worshipful master; Franklin Donelson, treasurer; and Eugene Jordan, co-chairman public relations committee.*

Mississippi: The AMITE COUNTY branch issues an informative branch bulletin called *The Informer*.

Missouri: The publisher of the St. Louis *Globe Democrat* has announced, in a letter to ST. LOUIS branch president Margaret Wilson, that the morning *Globe* would discontinue any reference to race or color in all their classified employment advertising.

The St. Louis branch adopted a resolution in November asking the St. Louis board of education to appoint a committee of qualified citizens to investigate the de facto segregation of Negro and white children that has been practiced for some time in connection with several thousand public school children transported across town because of crowding in their home schools.

LAST RITES HELD FOR CHANNING H. TOBIAS

FOLLOWING solemn rites in the beautiful grand nave of the Riverside Church, New York City, Channing H. Tobias was interred in Woodlawn cemetery in the Bronx.

Attending services for the late chairman-emeritus of the NAACP Board of Directors on November 8 were many prominent citizens from all walks of life who came to pay a final tribute to the distinguished civil-rights leader.

Dr. Tobias died on Sunday, November 5, at the Harkness Pavilion of Medical Center where he had been confined for a month. He had been in failing health for the past several years. He was 79 years old.

At the funeral he was eulogized by his friend and protégé, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta. Dr. Tobias was praised as a man of integrity, convictions, sincerity, character and courage. He was endowed, Dr. Mays said, with "a sound mind and sound body." He was a man who "walked in the tradition of the Hebrew prophets," the Atlanta clergyman said.

In a telegram of condolence to Mrs. Tobias, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins said: "As chairman of our Board of Directors, Dr. Tobias gave militant and responsible leadership in the Fight for Freedom to which he was totally dedicated. His dedication, his wisdom and his other sterling qualities endeared him to all those fortunate enough to have known and worked with him."

Officiating at the services was the Reverend Samuel Sweeney, former pastor of St. Marks ME Church. Honorary pallbearers included former Senator Herbert Lehman, Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Arthur B. Spingarn, Roy Wilkins, Dr. John W. Davis, Dr. Peter Marshall Murray, Lester B. Granger, Leo Marsh, Dalton McClelland, Reverend Raymond Calhoun, President E. Clayton Calhoun of Paine College in Augusta, Ga., T.B.D. Dyett and Henry K. Craft.

There were songs by Mrs. Charlotte Wesley Holloman, gifted soprano. Among notables attending the services were Judge Thurgood Marshall, A. Philip Randolph, Judge Hubert T. Delany, Mrs. Walter White, Mrs. Louis T. Wright, William Trent, Father John LaFarge, S.J., Judge Francis E. Rivers, Dr. Raphael O'Hara Lanier, Dr. Max Yergan, Rev. O. Clay Maxwell, Mrs. Grace Fenderson, Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Rev. J. Clinton Hoggard Lewis Gannet, and Mrs. Amy Spingarn.

Dr. Tobias is survived by his wife, the former Mrs. Eva Arnold, to whom he was married in 1951 following the death of his first wife in 1949; his daughter, Mrs. Sherwood Messner of New Rochelle; his sister, Mrs. Mattie Jackson; and two grandchildren.

DR. CHANNING HEGGIE TOBIAS
February 1, 1882 — November 5, 1961

R. G. RENAUDIN, *New Orleans division manager, marketing, for Gulf Oil Corporation, discusses high cost of education with Dr. Albert W. Dent ,president of Dillard University. At a chapel ceremony, Dr. Dent had just accepted from Gulf a $1,000 unrestricted grant for use by Dillard's department of education under Gulf's comprehensive aid to education program.*

College and School News

Richard Lewis, an alumnus of MILES COLLEGE, is one of the first group of fifty men selected by the Peace Corps to participate in the Phillipine Project.

■

Charles A. Young, art instructor at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, won first and second prizes in Art in the Adult Professional Division of the Fayetteville Junior Women's Club's first annual art exhibition. His "Tarso with Texture" was adjudged the best piece of work in the show and won both a plaque and a $100-cash-award, while his "The Paper Man" came in second.

■

Kentucky's governor and the state's commission on human rights expressed regrets and apologies to CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE students who were refused service at a Frisch's Big Boy restaurant in Frankfort in mid-October.

■

Dr. Jerome H. Holland, president of HAMPTON INSTITUTE, was elected to the national board of directors of the Planned Parenthood Federation at the Federation's 41st annual meeting recently held in New York City.

■

The INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER was host to and sponsor of two important conferences on ministerial training and recruitment held between October 12 and 15.

Dr. Joseph A. Johnson, professor of New Testament, reported to his colleagues on recent visits and conference in European universities. He visited these institutions in connec-

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tion with his attendance as a delegate of the CME Church to the World Methodist Conference held at Oslo, Norway.

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Cheyney State College

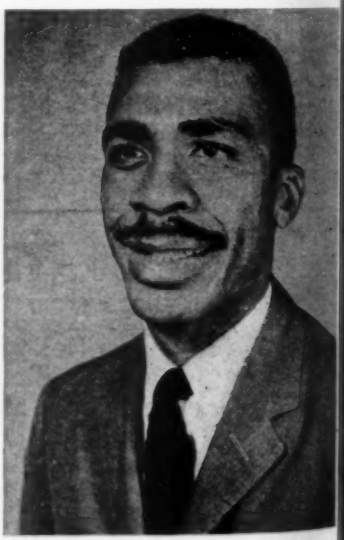
The ITC is offering a winter program of extension courses for the Atlanta, Birmingham, Griffin, and Thomasville communities.

■

Roy Hunter, Jr., a recent addition to the Morehouse biology faculty, recently finished all requirements for his Ph. D. degree at Brown University. The degree will be officially awarded at the June 1962 Brown commencement.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY president, Dr. Albert D. Dent, has announced Lester B. Granger's acceptance of the post of first Edgar B. Stern Uni-



CHARLES A. YOUNG
Fayetteville State Teachers College.

versity Professor. Mr. Granger, now retired as Urban League executive director, will assume his duties at Dillard at the beginning of the spring semester.

■

The GULF OIL CORPORATION has presented Dillard University a $1,000 unrestricted grant for use by the college's department of education.

■

A $63,000 collection of 11 Italian Renaissance paintings and one sculptural piece was presented to HOWARD UNIVERSITY on October 12 by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation of New York City. The paintings and sculpture were donated to the University for instructional purposes.

"Howard University is not only a college but a cause. On its campus is focused the American Negro's twentieth-century battle for emancipation," writes Milton Viorst in an article on Howard (its history, its present and its future) that appeared in the November 1961 issue of HARPER'S magazine.

■

Francis O. Chigbu-Ememe, Nigerian delegate to the UN, was honored on November 1 at a luncheon given by the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY graduate school of business. Following the luncheon, Dean Courtney C. Brown presented Mr. Chigbu-Ememe with an Alumni Pin.

Columbia was represented by seven professors at the fourth annual meeting of the African Studies Association held at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, in October.

■

Equality of education for the socially and economically deprived is coming closer to fulfillment, according to the 1960-61 annual report of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS. For thirteen years, the work of the NSSFNS has been pointing such a goal. According to the Report, the agency in its basic program has helped to enroll almost 7,700 Negro students in interracial colleges. This figure includes 647 freshmen who entered 319 colleges this fall.

The value of scholarships secured or awarded totals almost $3,000,000, with the addition of $418,663 in awards to this year's freshmen, upperclass and preparatory candidates. Of this last sum approximately $50,000 was awarded directly by NSSFNS, the balance by colleges and other sources.

■

For the third consecutive year, employees of the New York City Transit Authority have contributed more than $4,000 to the UNITED NEGRO FUND. The Guild, a life member of the NAACP, is a fraternal organization of TA employees. A check for $4,150 represented the 1961 gift.

Dr. Luther H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute, has been elected president of the UNCF to succeed Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse.

■

Thirty-six interns of FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL MEMORIAL COLLEGE have been assigned to nine weeks of supervised classroom teaching in local schools.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY, through its division of education and psychology, conducted two-day workshops in October to provide guidance and training for supervising teachers and others persons connected with the student teaching program. Speakers at the workshops were Dr. Robert J. Young, dean, Radford College, Radford, Va.; Dr. C. M. Colson, director student teaching at Virginia State College, Petersburg; and Ernest W. Mooney, director of curriculum services, Richmond public schools.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY observed its ninety-sixth founder's day on November 17, with Dr. Lord Cecil Rhodes of Norfolk, Va., Shaw '41, delivering the main address.

■

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY celebrated its annual homecoming on October 14.

■

The Field Foundation, Inc., of New York City, has made a grant of $5,000 to TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE to assist the college in bringing nationally-known figures to lecture at the college and to provide funds for student conference travel, periodicals, and newspapers for the social science division.

■

The natural science museum has been steadily expanding its educational function in American society, but its progress is being impeded by the lack of recognition of its true educational role, it is reported in the ninety-second annual report of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

Alexander M. White, president of the Museum, pointed to the change that has come about in the relationship of scientist and layman since he became president in 1951. "What the biologist sees beneath the microscope and the astronomer views through the telescope are becoming, with increasing urgency, the concern of each of us," the Museum president said.

Recognizing this urgency the Museum, during the past ten years, has increased the size of its scientific staff and enlarged its programs of exhibition and instruction. The Museum has completed seven major halls, reconstructed five permanent exhibitions, installed more than one hundred temporary shows, enlarged its library facilities, accelerated its publications program and has broadly expanded its roles in research and teaching, Mr. White said.

■

In the largest conference ever assembled in America on the subject of Africa, some 2,000 delegates and guests from all over the country and Africa participated in the eighth national conference of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO in Boston, October 22-26. The conference was arranged in cooperation with BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

■

Ground-breaking ceremonies for a $500,000 air-conditioned Student Center highlighted XAVIER UNIVERSITY's 1961 Foundation Week held in October.

The center is the first of four buildings planned in Xavier's development program. It was designed by Diboll-Kessels and Associates, architects, and was made possible through a donation of more than $300,000 together with money already in the Development Program Fund.

■

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, possibly the most internationally distinguished alumnus of FISK UNIVERSITY, has made a gift of his private library and personal papers to the university. The collection is of such generous proportions that Arna Bontemps, Fisk librarian, has estimated that it will not be completely processed for at least a year. Included are six steel files of manuscript material in letters and published and unpublished writings, several larges boxes of pamphlets and hard-to-find fugitive publications collected over three-quarters of a century, perhaps 2,000 books —many of them scarce—and scores of miscellaneous items.

The Fisk board has approved construction of a new $725,000 dormitory.

■

BENEDICT COLLEGE is the first Negro institution of higher education in South Carolina to join the South Carolina Educational Television Network.

Three seniors and eight juniors at Benedict have been named to the 1961-62 class of "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges."

Benedict senior Nancy C. Gallman has begun a year's study at the Institute for American Universities in Aix-en-Provence, France. She will follow a program of French language studies and will take courses in philosopht and international relations in the American curriculum.

NANCY C. GALLMAN
Benedict College

Annual charter-day convocation was held at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY on October 16, with President Dent of Dillard as the main speaker. Atlanta was chartered on October 16, 1867.

Dr. Hubert B. Ross, associate professor of anthropology at Atlanta, attended the meeting of the African Studies Association held in New York City October 20-22. He was also a delegate to the eighth National Conference of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO in Boston, October 23-26.

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host, October 1-5, to the Virginia Association of New Farmers of America.

Gerhon B. O. Collier, ambassador to the UN from Sierra Leone, was a recent speaker at the college.

R. Charles Long, associate professor of business education, has been appointed state consultant for business education service by the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia. His duties will include visiting and working with the ninety-four Negro high schools and four of the colleges in Virginia which have business education departments.

Dean Lawrence A. Potts of TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE's school of agriculture has been named as a special consultant to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman. In announcing the appointment, the Secretary said that Dean Potts will advise him on methods of more effectively implementing the Department's policy of equal employment opportunities. This will include, the Secretary pointed out, the development of a more intensive recruitment program among students and graduates of the land-grant colleges.

A NEW HISTORY—*Publication of "Anti-Slavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America" was marked in New York City in October by the NAACP. On hand at a special reception (from L) were Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman of Brooklyn College's history department; Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, chairman NAACP board of directors; Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president; and Professor Dwight L. Dumond, University of Michigan, author.*

Cecil Layne

Book Reviews

Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York, has issued an inexpensive paperback edition of Richard Bardolph's THE NEGRO VANGUARD (VIII+495+XVI pp., $1.85), a survey of Negro leadership in America from 1770 to 1959.

The talented author of *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959), Paule Marshall, is not so successful with her SOUL CLAP HANDS AND SING (New York, Atheneum, 1961, 177 pp., $3.95). Her four stories, despite their locale—Barbados, Brooklyn, British Guiana, and Brazil—are about elderly men involved with younger women. The men all suffer defeat.

Sidney Poitier is one of the fourteen actors interviewed in Lewis Funke and John E. Booth's ACTORS TALK ABOUT ACTING: FOURTEEN INTERVIEWS WITH STARS OF THE THEATRE (New York, Random House, 1961, 469 pp., $6.95). Mr. Poitier says he got into acting because he had no marketable skills and was tired of menial and hard jobs. Like the other thirteen, Mr. Poitier discusses the whys and the hows of his profession and what it means to him.

***Jomo Kenyatta: Towards Truth About "The Light of Kenya."* By George Delf. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. 215 pp. $3.95.**

***The African Revolution.* By James Cameron. New York: Random House, 1961. 279pp. $3.95.**

Jomo Kenyatta was known in Europe long before his trial and the rise of Mau Mau because of his deep involvment with the political and educational problems of Kenya.

Kenyatta's birth date is not known, but is often given as circa 1900. He came to Nairobi at the age of twenty and secured employment as a clerk in the Public Works Department. He first visited England in Febuary 1929 to discuss the land question with the Secretary of State as it affected the Kikuyu tribe. While in England he went to school, attended the University of London, and studied anthropology under Bronislaw Malinowski, under whose supervision he wrote his anthropological study, *Facing Mount Kenya.* After fifteen years absence in Europe he returned to Kenya to plunge into political and educational activities which led up to Mau Mau and his imprisonment.

Although Kenyatta was tried and convicted by the Kenya government for his complicity in Mau Mau, it is still believed by his friends, as well as his lawyer, D. N. Pritt, that he was convicted on perjured testimony. The chief witness against Kenyatta was a certain Rawson Macharia, who has since been discredited. White settlers insisted that the Kikuyu and not themselves had the first resort to violence and they exalted the "terrorism" of the natives into the *mystique* of Mau Mau. Actually there is no such word as *mau-mau* in the Kikuyu language. But since the rebel movement was regarded as monstruous and savage some wag possibly slapped on the Portuguese adjective *mau* or evil.

Kenyatta has been released from prison and is now the accepted leader among the Kenya natives.

Kenyatta is what the French call *quelqu'un* — a somebody. With his dominating presence and sculptured profile, he stands out in any group. He is charming, humorous and witty. At his trial the prosecutor questioned: "Are you a polygamist?" "Yes," replied Kenyatta with a smile; then added: "But I don't call it that."

Mr. Delf has given us a thought-provoking analysis of a great personality and the frustrating experiences which went into its making.

The African Revolution is an abecedary of the revolutions now taking place in Africa. Our author ranges from Morocco and Tunisia in the north, through east and west Africa, and winds up with South Africa. He does not probe any of the countries and his findings are in consequence of slight value. One wonders about his scholarship when one runs across items like these: "In 1909 the American Dr. William Du Bois founded 'The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People' "; "such Africans as Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore"; "white residence is discouraged" in Portuguese Africa; or "an African [in Portuguese Africa] who passes certain not very complex tests can qualify immediately, as an *assimilado*, for complete civilized rights." A group of white and Negro liberals, and Dr. Du Bois was among them, founded the NAACP; George Padmore is not an African, but a Trinidadian; white residence is encouraged in Portuguese Africa; and the tests for an *assimilado* are so complex that few Africans can qualify.

***Race and Science: The Race Question in Modern Science.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. 560pp. $5.00.**

Beginning in 1951, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) began publication of a series of pamphlets on "the race question in modern science." In 1956 nine of these pamphlets were published as a book, *The Race Question in Modern Science*. Now the original nine, with two additional monographs, are issued as *Race and Science*.

The ten contributors marshal, from all branches of science—biology, psychology, sociology, economics, history—the objective arguments against racial prejudice and discrimination. Juan Comas, "Racial Myths," asserts "that generally speaking there was no true racial prejudice before the fifteenth century, since before then the division of mankind was not so much into antagonistic races as into 'Christians and infidels'—a much more humane differentiation, since the chasm between religions can be bridged while the biological racial barrier is impossible."

He explains: *"There is no scientific basis whatsoever* for a general classification of races according to a scale of relative superiority, and racial prejudices and myths are no more than a means of finding a scapegoat when the position of individuals and the cohesion of a group are threatened."

One of his conclusions: "As scientific discoveries and technological progress have largely destroyed the effectiveness of myth pure and simple among the masses, contemporary racism is accordingly forced to adopt a scientific disguise."

After studying racial situations in South Africa, Brazil, Hawaii, and Great Britain, Kenneth L. Little, "Race and Society," concludes that "it is history rather than race which is the main factor in producing the differences between the cultures and the cultural attainments of mankind. . . . In fact, a study of Western politics during the nineteenth century reveals a very close connexion between racial myths and national and imperial ambition."

Tracing the history of the Jewish People, Harry L. Shapiro, "The Jewish People: A Biological History," concludes that few other people have had so varied a biological history as the Jews. They have contributed something of their genetic heritage to more different peoples than any other group and have in return absorbed an equal number of new genetic strains.

Dr. Shapiro also writes a chapter on "Race Mixture." "There is," he says, "no reliable documentation that race mixture as a biological process is inevitably a deleterious one. On the psychological side, the consequences of race mixture are more controversial. . . . The great injustice, after all, that has been placed on the mixed-blood is that he is judged, not as an individual, an elementary right to which he is entitled, but as a member of a group about which there is much prejudice and little understanding."

Michel Leiris, "Race and Culture," stresses the fact that one of the basic errors in attempted scientific justification of race prejudice is "the failure to distinguish between *natural* and *cultural* traits, i.e., innate characteristics traceable to a man's ethnic origin, and those deriving from background and upbringing."

"The modern view of race, founded upon the known facts and theories of heredity, leaves the old views of fixed and absolute biological differences among the races of man, and the hierarchy of superior and inferior races founded upon this old view, without scientific justification," explains L. C. Dunn in "Race and Biology."

Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Race and History," says that the Western races base their superiority on the Industrial Revolution, but that this superiority disappears when viewed against the background of history. "It is unlikely," writes G. M. Morant, "The Significance of Racial Differences," "that there are any racial differences between all members of one population and all members of any other."

Otto Klineberg, "Race and Psychology," points out that experiments have turned up no evidence that some races are more intellectually endowed than others. "There is still relatively little understanding of the causes or even the effects of prejudice, except on the superficial, obvious level," adds Arnold Rose in "The Roots of Prejudice." In the concluding chapter, Marie Jahoda emphasizes the fact that racial attitudes cannot be improved by "a direct appeal on a rational and ethical level."

The discovery of science that there are no superior and inferior races has yet to penetrate to the masses, who still believe in the popular fallacies about "race" and "blood" and "white supremacy." But as long as racialism continues to plague man, books like *Race and Science* will be needed.

J.W.I.

***The Southerner As American*. Edited by Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. ix+216pp. $5.00.**

The unifying theme of these essays by nine Southern-born authors, includ-

ing John Hope Franklin and L. D. Reddick, is that the Southerner has always been more American than Southern. Though the theme is ridden rather hard at times, none of these essays, which range in topics from Southern historiography to southern literature, would deny that regional identity does exist, though there is not always agreement as to just what these identities are.

In describing what it is that makes the South different the essayists are not willing to settle for an all-embracing "central thesis" as Ulrich Phillips once did. But one does notice in the essays an untiring regularity in the use of such words as ambiguity, paradox, schizophrenia and "inner conflict" to describe the South so as to suggest a possible regional identity. According to several of the authors this divided mind originated in the Old South when the values of Christianity and the Enlightenment clashed with the institution of slavery. One essay suggests that the South has taken the guilt of the American treatment of the Negro upon itself, bearing the sin for all Americans and through its literature has contributed the lessons of its suffering to the nation. Professor Franklin believes that when it is more widely known that the vast majority of ante-bellum southern whites owned no slaves, then the South might be freed from its defense of its "peculiar institution" and its surviving corollary, the doctrine of white supremacy. On the other hand, as the North becomes more aware of its own history of segregation and intolerance toward the Negro, before and after the Civil War, they might learn the lessons more readily if the southern tragedy which all Americans share in.

The continuity between ante-bellum South and the New South is apparent in most of these essays. John Hope Franklin discusses how southern historical literature in both periods was used to glorify the past and minimize the differences in the South which has led to the myth of the "solid South." Grady McWhiney holds to the thesis that economic profitability was the chief reason why the South tried to retain slavery as it is the major reason why segregation is crumbling today. The arguments used to defend the "new peculiar institution" of twentieth century segregation are not new at all, according to George B. Tindall, but were all forged before the Civil War when the South hammered out its defense of slavery. In his perceptive and moving chapter on "The Negro As Southerner and American," L. D. Reddick points out that the Negroes and whites in both periods in many ways are really "brothers under the skin." In discussing the "new" development of a two party system in the South, Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., reminds us that the South has always been on the verge of entering a new era of politics. C. Hugh Hamilton, the only non-historian of the group, shows that the objectives of the New Critics of modern literature are the same objectives as expressed by the Old South writers, Edgar Allan Poe and William Gilmore Simms.

It might appear from the above that this is a debunking book written in the heat of present controversies, but such is not the case. Many of the myths discussed in *The Southerner As American* have long been exploded in dry historical monographs. But here we have a book written for the general reader by specialists in their field; each chapter is a self-contained essay and the footnotes are tucked away in the back of the book which adds to its readability. A most interesting chapter could have been added which would explain why it is that the majority of these Southern-born authors no longer find the South a congenial place in which to live.

SHERMAN MERRILL
Instructor of History
Morgan State College

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CHARMING CHRISTMAS CHAIRMAN—*Dr. Anna Julian of Chicago was named national chairman in November of the NAACP's Christmas-substitute-card plan. Introduced by the Links, Inc., the plan calls for contributions to the NAACP of money usually spent on Christmas cards. In return contributors receive hand-sized announcement cards like the giant-sized one above.*

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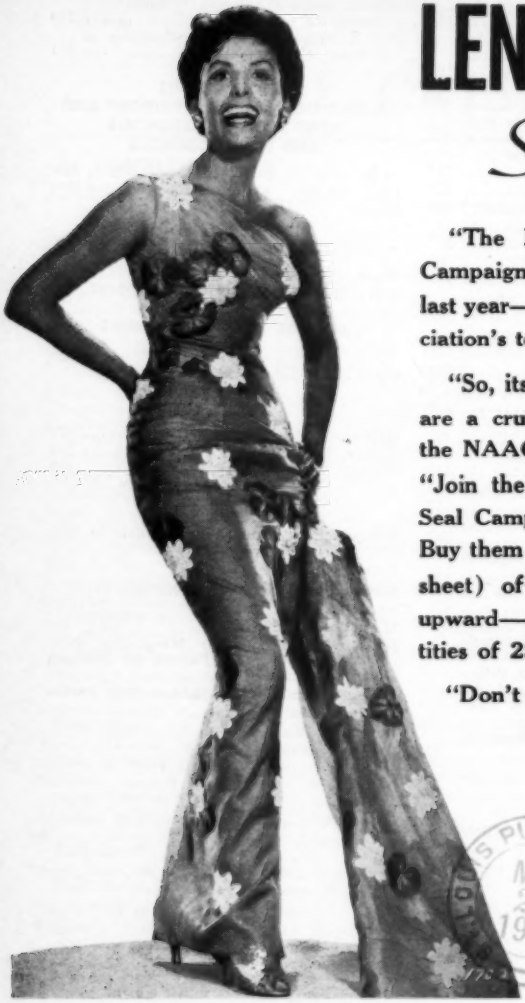

LENA HORNE

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